1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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has the nuptial fertility rate fallen below 300 and it is now 25 per cent. higher than that of Ireland, reputedly the highest in the world (22).

Fertility, marriage and birth-rates have been outlined above, but the trends of the first two do not account for decline of the last. Fertility is stable, or was until 1948, the marriage rate has not declined since that year and previous trends of nuptial fertility do not suggest any imminent decline. One strong possibility, however, is that the pattern of post-war migration is concealing a decline in the married population. Many migrants from the Islands return to get married and leave with their brides for their new homes. Their children are born overseas so that marriages which have been registered in the Islands give rise to children born and registered abroad. If this is so, it indicates that a decline in the rate of emigration would result in a rapid revival of the birth rate and that the present pattern of natural increase is very much affected by the trends of emigration.

MIGRATION

The pattern of nineteenth century migration has been the subject of close study by Price (23) who deals mainly with the period 1842-81 using as his major source of information, the records of the Passport Office. Since the Department of Emigration was not established until after the First World War, the intervening period has been filled in for this study by interpretation of further Passport records and of passenger movement statistics collected by the Customs and Port Department. From 1918 onwards statistics of the Emigration Department have been used along with those of the Customs and Port Department.

Comparability of material has been one of the biggest problems. In the period covered by Price, the native Maltese population only was considered; subsequent statistics are for the entire civil population, which from 1901 onwards included the families of the Garrison. The best check on the scale of movement is provided by a consideration of the Census reports together with vital statistics for inter-censal years. The difference between the net increase in population and the natural increase represents the inter-censal net migration.

Table 30. Inter-censal migration 1842-1958.

Period	Natural Increase	Net Increase	Net Migration
1842-51	11,310[1]	8,620	- 2,690
1851-61	17,470[2]	10,060	- 7,410
1861-71	7,860[3]	8,490	+ 630
1871-81	11,030[4]	8,180	- 2,850
1881-91	16,490	15,260	- 1,230
1891-1901	15,830	19,710	+ 3,880
1901-11	26,030	27,080	+ 1,050
1911-21	17,300	-110	-17,410
1921-31	25,280	28,260	+ 2,980
1931-48	65,140	64,370	- 770
1948-58[5]	53,480	10,250	-43,230

1-4. Price, op. cit.
5. Estimate from the Census of 1948 to 31st December, 1958.
1842-81. Maltese population only.
1881-1901. Civilian population excluding Garrison families.
1901-1958. Civilian population including Garrison families.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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For brevity's sake it must suffice to say here that, apart from the obvious effects of World War II, the Maltese economy during the last 50 years has developed along more or less uniform general lines. Trade statistics began to be compiled properly in 1909-10. By 1918, visible exports paid for only 10 per cent. of all imports while by 1956 this proportion had dropped to 5 per cent. For our present purpose the most recent specifically economic Report utilising normally unpublished source material, that of Balogh and Seers (13), may be used as a basis for discussion. Statistics for the year 1953-54 contained therein and in the original source material are here re-assembled and re-arranged in the same combinations used in Chapter V A, i.e. Negotiable Income or External Economic Balance, Internal Revenue and National Product. By no means all the facts are available and some of the elements in the computation are open to question, but this particular presentation has been adopted to bring out significant points of direct relevance to our work.

The first element, that of External Balance may be presented in tabular form thus:-

Table 31. External economic balance. 1954.

A. Negotiable income - originating externally.		
(i) Services pay	£6.5	millions
(of which dockyard)	(3.6	")
(ii) Direct expenditure by Services	2.2	"
(iii) Estimated spending by non-Maltese Service personnel	6.0	"
	£14.7	"
(iv) Imperial Grants	3.0	"
	£17.7	"
B. Negotiable income - originating internally.		
(i) Merchandise exports	£1.5	millions
(ii) Invisible exports	2.9	"
	£4.4	"
C. Negotiable income - Grand Total	£22.1	millions
D. Expenditure on imports.		
(i) Merchandise imports	£18.6	millions
(ii) Invisible imports	1.9	"
	£20.5	"

The most obvious characteristic of Malta's economy in its external relationship is its amazing dependence for Negotiable income, i.e. convertible wealth available for paying for imports, on factors outside domestic control.

In detail various significant points emerge. While part of this income resulted from the provision of industrial and labour services - A (i) and (ii), about 40 per cent. came through retail and domestic services to the Garrison - A (iii). Statistically, this is an item impossible to measure precisely, and in so far as it is a residual item a further question arises, to wit, how far may it be an over-estimate concealing an unrecorded inflow of foreign wealth through hidden channels to the civil population. In Sierra Leone, periodic upsurges of

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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Chapter IX

A. The Maltese Farmholding

For our purposes here we shall define a 'farmer' as 'the owner or holder of land which he cultivates', but will add the limiting clause, 'as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise'. There may be joint owners or holders but normally, even where a '*communio inter fratres*' has been established on the death of a parent landholder, one person will assume responsibility for the control of the enterprise. He is the farmer. His brothers, sisters, wife and children, if they assist in working the land, together with the non-family labour which he may employ are the farmworkers. The inter-relationships of family and work can, however, be much more complex than this simplification may imply. 423* 241 [464]

The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers we shall term the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners, and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold, as well as various types of leasehold land. Within each holding there exists a loosely-knit collection of plots, which, through accident or design, have come to be in the occupation of one individual or group. Because of the geographical isolation of the plots, most of the holdings might, descriptively, be termed 'fragmented holdings'. Such holdings need not necessarily have acquired this characteristic through the process of *parcellement*; that is by splitting up of a holding into a number of non-contiguous plots. No generic connotation, therefore, should be attached to the purely descriptive use of the term 'fragmented'. In the following examination of the Maltese farm, this distinction between descriptive statements and analyses of processes will be maintained. 423*

The physical size of a farm may be considered as the total area of land over which the farmer exercises sole rights of occupation for agricultural purposes. Fortunately, in the Maltese Islands, the matter is not complicated by problems of definition concerned with common land, as communal holding of land is effectively absent. But other problems do arise, since land is so variable in quality, ranging from fertile irrigated lands to soil-less karst, with many gradations in between. Most farms include land of more than one category and, especially in the north and west of Malta and the hard-rock areas of Gozo, many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivator's point of view is useless.

The average size of farms has proved an elusive statistic for many writers. A figure of 3.7 acres was given to the Royal Commission of 1911-12. From 1921-36 the Blue Books continued to advertise the patent fallacy that only 236 holdings were in the 0-10 acre size range and that 10,864 holdings contained from 11-50 acres of land. However, in this context any average figure is very largely meaningless except for purely comparative purposes. The range is enormous; holdings less than 1 *tomna* are not considered as farms, but there are many holdings only slightly larger than this, while at the other end of the scale, farms of 200 *tmien* are not unknown.

Much of the record concerning farm sizes is incomplete and, although the present response rate of over 97 per cent. to the annual Agricultural Census conducted by the Central Office of Statistics is excellent under the conditions prevailing in the Maltese Islands, it seems probable that earlier returns lagged far behind in this respect. Of the various sources, the Farm Register is probably the most accurate. It began with a Census in 1942 and was checked against another in 1944; for several years its details were consolidated by field survey. 423* 129 659

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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and a small staff is still retained to endeavour to keep its material up to date.

Quite apart from the varying accuracy of the censuses (and it is almost impossible to assess the accuracy of the earlier ones), the analyst is faced with other internal problems. In connection with the size of farms and the types of land within them, different criteria have been used at different times: in 1891 and 1901, land was classed as cultivated and uncultivable; in the Farm Register, irrigated, semi-irrigated, dry- and tree-covered land are classed as cultivated and the balance as waste; the surveys of 1951-56 specify dry, irrigated and idle land, together with waste. How far these groups are comparable from period to period it is difficult to say. The 1956 Abstract provides a better picture, for here in addition to the analyses of dry and irrigated land considered separately, there is also a simple size analysis of holdings according to the amount of dry and irrigated land taken together. More closely comparable with the earlier analyses it is yet not identical, since wasteland and, presumably, idle land are omitted. The full significance of the size characteristics of Maltese farms emerges only when the relative proportions of the two classes of land, dry and irrigable, are studied. This material is presented later, in Table 38. However, useful preliminary points can be made on the basis of the earlier, simple size-range tabulations.

The size-range data are presented in Figs. 133 and 134 and relating to Malta and Gozo respectively; they are directly comparable except for the 1956 curve in the Gozo diagram which relates to cultivated land only. However it is unlikely that this discrepancy will seriously upset the validity of the diagram as a whole. A 1956 curve for Malta, based on similar figures, differs only in detail from that produced here for the period c. 1945.

The content of these diagrams is largely self-explanatory: each curve illustrating the number of holdings above or below certain critical size limits. In Malta, in the year 1891, almost 80 per cent. of all holdings were smaller than 40 *tmien*. Also in that year the median figure was 18 *tmien*.(5 acres) in Malta but 13 *tmien* (3¼ acres) in Gozo. Farms were already smaller in both islands by 1901 and, at the end of World War II, Maltese farms had become smaller than were the farms of Gozo 55 years earlier. In 1906, the median figure for Gozo stood at the very low level of 8 *tmien* (2½ acres). When it is realised that, for all except Gozo 1956, these data include some 5-7 per cent. uncultivated land, a major problem in Maltese agriculture has been outlined.

It might be held that the decrease in the size of holdings simply reflects a general reduction in the farmed area as a result of urban expansion. However, later evidence will show that the process of *morcellement* has probably been continuous for at least 100 years, and it is uncertain whether, over this longer period, there has been a net increase or decrease in the area of agricultural land. Certainly, in the period 1850-80 large areas of wasteland, mainly Government Land, were let on long improvement leases. Although it is clear that some of this land, for various reasons, never became productive, and yet more has remained marginal in character, a quantity unknown has been permanently added to the cultivated area of the island.

However, from Figs. 133 and 134, it is clear that the reduction in the average size of the farm has taken place at all levels: large farms have become two or more smaller farms, while smaller farms have been reduced in size. The process is thus an integral part of local agricultural development: small farm units are not merely the product of external encroachment, which, by reducing the area of agricultural land also reduces the average farm size (assuming a constant farm population). The extension of non-agricultural uses is obviously a factor to be considered, but the total farm population has not remained constant; indeed, despite considerable emigration and movement to the towns, it has increased (Chapter VI A). The precise number of holdings at any one time is not readily ascertainable, as most records are known to be incomplete and there is no means of knowing how many farmers failed to make returns. However, the following Table 34 indicates the general trend:-

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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as a slight under-estimate of the number of plots concerned.

Geographically, the holdings spread over a large area, circular in shape, with a diameter of some 4 miles. The half-mile square is excentric to this distribution, whose spread is greatest towards the coast, in a south-westerly direction. However, there is also a considerable thinning out in this direction, and the maximum number of plots cluster about an east-west axis cutting through the square. Within this belt, and to the north, plots tend to be somewhat larger than to the south. 423* 102

All these plots are farmed by people who live either in Żebbuġ or Siġġiewi; 31 of them in the latter. The built-up areas of these casals and also that of Rabat-Mdina are shown. In the north-west, many of the Żebbuġ-Siġġiewi holdings encroach on the parish territory of Rabat, while a broad belt of inter-mixture of Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi holdings follows the inter-parochial boundary. In terms of farm holdings, parochial limits have only a very general validity, and it seems unlikely that the parishes have possessed any real economic integrity for a considerable period, if ever. The maintenance of parish units during the various agricultural censuses has presented analysts with many problems, but it is extremely difficult to see what other small units could be adopted.

Five of the holdings of Fig. 135 are given distinctive shading, and plots belonging to these are also particularised in Fig. 136, where a key makes identification possible. As it appears, fragmentation is an exceedingly difficult thing to measure with precision, since it is a function of the area of the holding, the number of the constituent parts and their relative isolation. Sample holding V, for example, consists of 17 separate plots and a direct line between the furthest plots is almost 2¼ miles long. That this sample is unexceptional can be judged by the geographical scatter, and from the diagram appended to Fig. 136 which relates the number of holdings to the number of separate plots within each holding. Apart from single-plot holdings, of which the majority are small in size and held by part-time cultivators, more than half consist of six or more plots, and the average for all holdings is between five and six non-contiguous plots.

In the course of this examination, an assessment has been made of the extent to which farms may be described as fragmented. It is often suggested that *parcellement*, as a process, is partially responsible for this characteristic. However, in order to assess the degree of importance of the various processes, an historical perspective would be most valuable. It has therefore proved necessary to follow a long trail of field enquiry in order to build up the case-history which closes this chapter. 423*

Before discussing this material, however, it would be advisable to comment briefly on the validity of conclusions based on the above example, upon certain causes which are constantly invoked as full and adequate explanations of the scattered character of holdings, and upon the Laws which lie behind the present Maltese agricultural systems.

Within the complex processes of the development of farmholdings, the element of ownership must obviously play an important part. Unfortunately the translation of source-material into statistical and cartographic forms is by no means easy. The Farm Register is the only official source for cartographic representation and, until the proposed Cadastral Survey is complete, will with all its faults remain the main analytical tool. Few areas are completely registered and, even in these, the true ownership of land has not always been ascertained. The area already considered, that lying between Żebbuġ and Siġġiewi, is less affected than most by such deficiencies. 423* 129

Differentiation between the main classes of ownership is of basic importance. Some classes of Church and Government lands have had sufficient historical continuity of ownership to allow one to ignore effects of sub-division by legacy. Owner-occupied farms on the other hand are more prone to such *parcellement*. On the economic plane, differences in the level of rents demanded by various classes of owner can also have a considerable influence on farm morphology. 423*

Table 40. Land ownership and quality of land. Gozo.

Percentage of total agricultural land.

423*

	Civil Govmnt.	War Dept.	Church etc.	Private Landlord	Owner Occupier	Total %	Total 000 tm.
(a) Cultivated land							
1891	16.0		8.4	67.7		94.1	37
1901	31.1		11.3	52.8		95.2	32
1951	83.4				9.5	92.9	
1952	84.6				8.8	93.4	
(b) Uncultivated land							
1891	0.5		0.2	3.1 (1.1*)		3.8	2
1901	0.6		0.6	3.7		4.8	2
1951	6.6				0.5	7.1	
1952	6.2				0.2	6.4	
(c) Agricultural land							
1891	16.6		8.6	72.8		100	40
1901	21.6		11.8	66.5		99.9	33
1951	90.0				10.0	100	36
1952	91.1				8.9	100	38

*Ownership 'indefinite' - excluded from totals.

time, ownership would change. Since 1947, the existence of savings amassed during the price boom of World War II and the granting of old-age pensions have together encouraged the farmer to retire at an earlier age from active management and, through various crop-sharing agreements, to divide the usufruct with heirs, relations and friends. New types of tenure ensuring security to the original owner and opportunity to others are of considerable significance. Thus, over a short period of time simple freehold may be replaced by other legal situations although the *de facto* position of owner-occupied land as a whole remains unchanged. [454] [745]

Increasing accuracy of classification may correct these and other discrepancies but may in itself and as a result of such corrections introduce apparent fluctuations in general trends. Thus, because it is reasonable to assume that the most recent figures are most likely to be accurate, minor trends culminating in recent records should be ignored. 423* 127

Thus it is that, in the absence of external evidence, we may say that increases in the actual or proportional areas of land owned by Church and State have been insignificant. Table 41 shows in round figures the probable proportions of land owned by the various groups, based on various sources and broadly correct for the years around 1950. We are satisfied that this gives a more accurate picture than that usually presented.

The character of ownership and its effects on land use must also be related to the character of the land itself. Tables 39 and 40 show, among other features, the growing amount of 'wasteland' which now makes up some 15 per cent. of the so-called farmed area of Malta, and a lesser proportion of Gozo. This 'waste' is mainly marginal land which bears clear traces of earlier cultivation. True 'wasteland', virgin karst or long-abandoned, has always been excluded from the total figure. 423*

It has been suggested that such figures show that freehold property (in which the farmer might be expected to have the greatest interest) is most likely to

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I: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

423*
173
427
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It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside there.

This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. The progeny of each son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands of the females of the family.

[27]

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The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who held most of his land at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed to 2, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4 and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help was given by the *pitkali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

[926]

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

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2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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30 per cent random sample. Those selected this way were Balzan, Dingli, Gudja, Gharb, Gharghur, Mosta, Qala, Qrendi, Xaghra, Żebbuġ (Malta) and Żurrieq. I also chose Sliema, a large suburb, to provide a special contrast to the villages. Thus the general statements I make about Maltese villages are based on a fairly wide cross-section.

Thanks to the patient teaching of our friends Francis and Evelyn Chetcuti during the year preceding fieldwork, I was able to begin to work in Maltese soon after my arrival. Much of my work, however, was done in English, which many informants spoke fluently.

I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Trafford Smith, former Lieutenant-Governor of Malta; to Mr. Maurice Abela, the Principal Government Statistician, and Chev. Paul Naudi, Director of Information, and their assistants; to Dr. V. De Pasquale, Chev. J. Galea, Mr. E. R. Leopardi and Mr. John Bezzina of the Royal Malta Library; to the Revs. Joseph Ghigo S.J., Paul Pace, Paul Said, Joseph Theuma, Benjamin Tonna, Charles Vella and Anton Xiberras, and to the Hon. A. Barbara, Dr. Brian Beeley, Mr. J. Cassar Pullicino, Mr. Francis Mizzi and Mr. Joseph Muscat for their interest and help in many ways. Prof. J. Aquilina kindly allowed me to read the manuscript of his unpublished work on Maltese proverbs.

I am greatly indebted to the staff and my fellow students at the Department of Anthropology of the London School of Economics for their stimulating discussion, both formal and informal, of this material.

Finally, I wish to record here my very special thanks and obligation to Professor Lucy Mair, my academic supervisor, for the valuable criticism and patient help she gave me before and during my research and especially in analysing and writing up the material collected in the field.

Except for minor alterations, the present work is identical with the Ph.D. thesis I submitted to the University of London in November 1962.

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proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should be become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Government Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Zebbuġ, Għargħur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Żurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xagħra and Għarb).

128 lot of the farmer.

In Section 5 an attempt is made to draw together the main socio-economic aspects of the present problem of Maltese agriculture. It is recognized that other aspects of this total problem have been covered elsewhere (e.g. - Mitchell, B/524, 525; Cirillo, B/387; Bowen-Jones and Dewdney, B/336; and in the various official reports which [114] have appeared in recent years, B/Part 7 E). It is felt, however, that in most cases, insufficient emphasis has been put on what is in fact the essence of the problem - namely the retreat of the present younger generation from farming and from rural society for a variety of reasons which are, it emerges, certainly as much sociological as economic.

(iii) Section 6 presents a considerable part of the evidence upon which the assessments in Section 2 to 5 have been based. It contains, as it were, the minutes of evidence for the conclusions reached. Part 1 (Cases I to XIII) presents detailed studies on thirteen farm-units representative of the different branches of the industry. Part 2 (Cases XIV to XXII) illuminates the main features of the current over-emphasis on large tractors and other types of farm machinery, while Part 3 comprises a brief note on the fishing community in the Islands, included because the fortunes of this comparatively small group parallel those of the farmers of the Islands.

•[127] In addition to the material set out in Section 6 the writer has made use of a great deal of case study and general material collected during the period of field research in Malta and Gozo. Most of this is now in B/5.

(iv) Section 7 comprises a note on literature and language in Malta and a bibliographical list of published and unpublished material on the Islands. This covers not only the field of research of the present report but attempts to include also details of a cross section of material available on the historical, economic, archaeological, geological, hydrological and other fields of study of Malta and Gozo. Being the first example of an attempt at such a comprehensive coverage it is given with apologies for its deficiencies. Works listed in the bibliography are referred to in the general text of the report by their number in the bibliography preceded by 'B/'.

(v) Section 8 includes five Statistical Appendices. The first of these presents a picture of Maltese agriculture, its nature and weaknesses, together with relevant details of the farming population. Appendix 5 assembles a wider range of information on weights and measures than previously available. The other three Appendices are included as illustrative of points made in Section 1, as are Maps 1 to 7 and The Graph.

It has faded very rapidly

only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops, animals or animal products are sold for money.

By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53) it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-occupied' section of the population as follows:

Table 1 (v. Map 2)

Urban (0-3%)		Fringe (3-10%)		Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Valletta	0	Balzan	5.48	Mqabba	10.5
Cospicua	0	Luqa	6.1	Marsaxlokk	10.6
Senglea	0	Birkirkara	6.16	Żurrieq	11.15
Vittoriosa	.008	Tarxien	6.43	Ghaxaq	11.29
Gżira	.11	St. Venera	6.46	Attard	11.53
Sliema	.24	Qormi	6.88	*Victoria	13
Floriana	.43	Birzebbuga	7.3	Mdina	15.4
Pawla	.8	Żabbar	7.35	Mosta	16.56
Marsa	1.2	Żejtun	8.27	Żebbuġ	18.41
Hamrun	1.35	Lija	9.9	*Ghajnsielem	19.2
Msida	1.36			Gudja	19.91
Kalkara	1.84				
Pieta	2.6				
St. Julian's	2.9				

Rural (20-50%)		Outer Rural (above 50%)	
Qrendi	20.25	*Kercem	56.43
Kirkop	22.33	*Xaghra	64
Naxxar	24.8	*Gharb	67.81
Rabat	25.6	*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Xewkija	27.7	*Żebbuġ	70.9
Gharghur	29.1	Mġarr	73.3
Mellieha	34.73	*Ghasri	82.7
Siggiewi	37.63	**Comino	89.47
*Sannat	39.04		
*Nadur	40.9		
Safi	46.87		
Dingli	47.4		
*Qala	47.6		
St. Paul's	47.72		

Malta..... 9.11%
Gozo..... 41.78%
All Islands..... 12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast, the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is hindered by differences of tabulation between the census counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

[i.e. peasant subsistence farming, Ed.]

APPENDIX 5 : WEIGHTS and MEASURES

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UNIT		EQUIVALENTS	
	Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0.859 ins	21.83 mm
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins	26.19 cm
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2.292 yds	2.095 m
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	2.252 sq.yds	1.891 sq.m
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds	18.735 sq.m
Sigh (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds	187.354 sq.m
Tomna (tomnolo)	6 Sieghan*	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Medd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	4.444 acres	1.798 ha.
		(1 acre - 3.6 tmien*)	
VOLUME			
Xiber Kubu	-	0.83 cu.ft	
Qasba Kubu	-	12.04 cu.yds	
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz	0.026 kg
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs	0.793 kg
Wiżna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs	3.968 kg
Qantar	20 Wiżna	175.000 lbs	79.378 kg
		(1 ton - 12.8 qantar* - 1016.128 kg)	
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora (sheaf or bundle of sulla, wheat, etc.)			
Kemel (somma)	10 Qattiet* (8 Qattiet in Gozo)		
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tomnolo)	-	0.0825 qrs	0.1818 hectolitre
Jojba	4 Tmien*	2.0 bushels	0.7272 "
Medd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 "	2.909 "
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 litres
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 "	0.63 "
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	1.125 "	1.27 "
Kwarta	4 Kratoċ*	1.125 gallons	5.11 "
CAPACITY: BEER, WINES & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 litres
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 "	0.284 "
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1.00 "	0.561 "
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	2.00 "	1.136 "
Kwarta	4.75 Kratoċ*	1.187 gallons	5.398 "
Garra	2 Karti*	2.375 "	10.797 "
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 "	43.187 "

MONEY

436 Sterling is the official currency in Malta and Gozo but various old units are also retained in popular usage:

'Lira'	£1	'Sitta(6) rbghajja'	10d
'Nofs Lira'	10s	'Sixpence'	6d
'Tmintax(18) rbighi'	2s 6d	'Tlieta(3) rbghajja'	5d
'Skud'	1s 8d	'Sold'	4d
'Kelin'	1s	'Sitt(6) habbiet'	½d

(A 'habba' - grain - was one twelfth of a penny; twenty 'habbiet' equalled one 'tari' or 'rbighi'.)

193 804 **NOTES** (1) Plural forms, identified by an asterisk* in the table: Garar (s.Garra); Habbiet (s.Habba); Kratoċ (s.Kartoċċ); Kejliet (s.Kejla); Kwarti (s.Kwarta); Nfas (s.Nofs); Pinet (s.Pinta); Qantar (s.Qantar); Qattiet (s.Qatta); Rbghajja (s. Rbighi); Rtal (s.Ratal); Sieghan (s.Sigh); Skudi (s.Skud); Terzi (s.Terz); Tmien (s.Tomna); Xbar (s.Xiber); Wiżniet (s.Wiżna).

127 114 (2) The information in the table is based in part on that given in H/90 - 1958-9, p.410, and in part on personal investigation.

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (B/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Wolts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[529] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/286).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made 1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.